

Articles and Essays by Richard M. Bank and Steven R. McCarl, Norman I. Fainstein and Susan S. Fainstein, Ralph Ross, Terry Nardin

Karen Orren
Standing to Sue

Benjamin I. Page
The Theory of Political Ambiguity

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Thad A. Brown, Samuel Popkin, John W. Gorman,
Charles Phillips, Jeffrey A. Smith, David RePass,
Frederick T. Steeper, Robert M. Teeter**
The Presidential Election of 1972

R. D. McKinlay and A. S. Cohan
Performance and Instability in Military and
Nonmilitary Regime Systems

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Published Quarterly by

The American Political Science Association

Vol. LXX September 1976

No. 3

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The American Political Science Review

Vol. LXX

September 1976

No. 3

CONTENTS

- 723 Standing to Sue: Interest Group Conflict in the Federal Courts Karen Orren
- 742 The Theory of Political Ambiguity Benjamin I. Page
- 753 A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization in the 1972 Election
Arthur H. Miller, Warren E. Miller, Alden S. Raine, Thad A. Brown
- 779 Comment Samuel Popkin, John W. Gorman, Charles Phillips, Jeffrey A. Smith
- 806 Comment Frederick T. Steeper and Robert M. Teeter
- 814 Comment David E. RePass
- 832 Rejoinder Arthur H. Miller and Warren E. Miller
- 850 Performance and Instability in Military and Nonmilitary Regime Systems
R. D. McKinlay and A. S. Cohan
- 865 Science and Rule in Bacon's Utopia: An Introduction to the Reading of the *New Atlantis* J. Weinberger
- 886 "Virtue, Obligation and Politics" Revisited Richard M. Bank and Steven R. McCarl
- 905 The Future of Community Control Norman I. Fainstein and Susan S. Fainstein
- 924 Communications
- 937 Editorial Comment
- 939 Book Reviews and Essays
- 939 On the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Ralph Ross
- 952 Philosophy and International Violence Terry Nardin

Office of publication: Curtis Reed Plaza, Menasha, Wisconsin.

Foreign Agent: P. S. King and Staples, Ltd., Great Smith Street, Westminster, London.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

Printed in the United States of America by George Banta Company, Inc., Menasha, Wisconsin.

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ARTICLES

- 723 Standing to Sue: Interest Group Conflict in the Federal Courts.** The law of standing—rules by which judges find whether a party may bring suit—has been liberalized in the federal courts to permit interest group disputes not ordinarily possible. Following an historical pattern of conflict containment within judicial-style processes, consumer and environmental groups contest corporate business decisions by challenging the legality of their regulatory or legislative authorization. The vagueness and *substantive* emphasis of the new rules give groups more influence in determining when courts will intervene in the affairs of the other branches; and the doctrine's recognition of noneconomic injuries logically forces judges to consider whether they may find standing for some "public interest" beyond a specific plaintiff. Changes in standing equalize social power; but the entanglement of courts in the puzzles of interest representation may restrict protections for strictly private litigants, and may further remove the political system from the Rule of Law.

By KAREN ORREN, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles.

- 742 The Theory of Political Ambiguity.** The ambiguity of politicians' words and actions is sometimes attributed to rational seeking of support or votes. Such an explanation must clearly specify the preferences and decision processes among constituents and the calculations by politicians which make ambiguity seem attractive.

The leading effort of this sort is Shepsle's *lottery theory*, in which politicians take probabilistic stands on issues in order to appeal to risk acceptant, expected-utility-maximizing voters. But the lottery theory suffers from several difficulties. Its predictions are not strong; it can at best account for only certain kinds of observed ambiguous behavior; its main condition for the prediction of ambiguity—risk acceptance among constituents—may not be met; and the expected utility model of risky decision making is not well supported by available evidence.

An *emphasis allocation theory* is suggested as an alternative. According to it, ambiguity involves an effort to reduce the salience of conflictual matters (such as specific policy alternatives) in the evaluation of politicians, so that attention will be paid to consensual appeals (peace, prosperity, honesty in government).

By BENJAMIN I. PAGE, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago.

- 753 A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization in the 1972 Election.** The Center for Political Studies' 1972 presidential election survey was used to investigate the role that issue voting, ideology, candidate assessments, and partisan defections played in the Republican landslide of that year. An analysis of issue attitudes revealed a deep policy schism among the Democrats: McGovern supporters preferred liberal policy alternatives while Nixon Democrats favored distinctly conservative issue positions. Interitem correlations among various issues and a liberal-conservative scale showed the voters to have substantial attitude consistency. A normal-vote analysis of these issues demonstrated that the Vietnam war and social issue domains contributed more significantly to the explanation of the vote than did cultural or economic issues. The candidates were clearly perceived as having taken opposing issue positions, with Nixon's position the more preferred by a majority of the population. A proximity measure, computed as the discrepancy between perceived candidate issue position and the voter's policy preference, proved to be a better predictor of the vote decision than the voter's own issue position taken alone. Analyses of candidate assessments showed that McGovern was not a personally appealing candidate—a factor that allowed issue differences to gain maximal importance. The sharp intraparty polarization of Democrats over policy alternatives, a change in the educational composition of the electorate, a decrease in partisan identification, and a growth in partisan defection combined to suppress the impact of party identification as a determinant of the vote decision. It was concluded that the 1972 presidential race could be labeled "ideological" by comparison with past elections.

By ARTHUR H. MILLER, Study Director, The University of Michigan, Center for Political Studies, WARREN E. MILLER, Director, Center for Political Studies and Professor of Political Science, The University of Michigan, ALDEN S. RAINE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Rutgers University, and THAD A. BROWN, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles.

- 779 Comment.** By SAMUEL POPKIN, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego and Cambridge Survey Research: JOHN W. GORMAN, Vice President, Cambridge Survey Research: CHARLES PHILLIPS, Ph.D. Candidate in Government, University of Texas at Austin; and JEFFREY SMITH, Ph.D. Candidate in Government, University of Texas at Austin.

- 806 Comment.** By FREDERICK T. STEEPER, Senior Analyst, Political Division, Market Opinion Research, and ROBERT M. TEETER, Executive Vice President, Market Opinion Research.

- 814 Comment.** By DAVID E. REPASS, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Connecticut.

- 832 Rejoinder.** By ARTHUR H. MILLER and WARREN E. MILLER.

850 Performance and Instability in Military and Nonmilitary Regime Systems. The analysis of military regimes, as opposed to military coups, has attracted comparatively little attention. This paper examines whether the political, military, and economic performance of systems which have experienced a military regime differs from the performance of systems which have not. The comparison between the performance of these two types of system is then used to examine the validity of the occurrence of a military regime as an indicator of instability. The population consists of all independent countries of the world. The time span examined is 1961–70. The comparison is made across a number of political, military, and economic variables. The basic comparison is elaborated by introducing controls for GNP, area, number of coups, and duration of the military regime. While the controls show a number of variations, the main summary finding is that it is easy to differentiate military and non-military regime systems in political terms, but not in military and economic terms. This finding seriously questions the utility of the occurrence of a military regime as an indicator of instability.

By R. D. MCKINLAY, Lecturer in Politics, University of Lancaster, and A. S. COHAN, Lecturer in Politics, University of Lancaster.

865 Science and Rule in Bacon's Utopia: An Introduction to the Reading of the *New Atlantis*. Bacon's *New Atlantis* presents a picture of human life governed by the new science to be produced by his reformation of the arts and sciences. Unlike his successor Hobbes, who forged a link between modern science and a certain, demonstrable doctrine of political rule, Bacon made no claim to found or present a political science. The reason for this is shown by an analysis of the political teaching of the *New Atlantis*. Bacon's political teaching is indirect, but it is the core of his comprehensive account of science and man. According to Bacon, the end of science is fully disclosed by political wisdom, and that wisdom shows the perfection of science to reverse the moral superiority of moderation over excess. The full meaning of Bacon's scientific utopia consists in a new stance toward the traditional problems of political philosophy.

By J. WEINBERGER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University.

886 "Virtue, Obligation and Politics" Revisited. Stephen Salkever in this *Review* ("Virtue, Obligation and Politics," *APSR* 68 [March, 1974]) discusses two paradigms of politics: one based on the concept of virtue (ancient political philosophy), the other resting on obligation (modern political thought). We analyze the meaning and significance of these two paradigms in terms of the cognitive-developmental moral psychology common to Lawrence Kohlberg, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget. We first present the cognitive-developmental theory and its empirical findings. We then demonstrate that the politics of obligation falls within the virtue paradigm as a necessary stage in the development of virtue, which involves placing Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Rawls within our developmental scheme. Finally, we explore the nature of understanding moral principles from within the cognitive-developmental perspective. In all this, we agree with Salkever's basic assumption that any account of political good (public as opposed to private) must be based on moral psychology, i.e., it must deal with the question of "What is good for the most inclusive of all publics, the human species?" We go two steps beyond Salkever, however, by showing the significance of the question, and by providing an answer to it (both of which bear upon the understanding of morality). An underlying purpose of our research is to present and to promote the political relevance and significance of moral psychology in general and cognitive development in particular.

By RICHARD M. BANK, Graduate Fellow, University of California, Santa Barbara, and STEVEN R. MCCARL, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Denver.

905 The Future of Community Control. The nature of community control ideology, its relation to more general political consciousness, and its social correlates are explored. The primary data are drawn from two main sources: a survey of the attitudes of 362 civic and political leaders in seven districts of New York City conducted in 1972 using a combination of structural and reputational indicators to identify the sample; and intensive participant observation in three of these districts during 1973–74, along with 175 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with individuals in district-level voluntary organizations, interest groups, political parties, poverty boards and agencies, and "street-level" bureaucratic roles.

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses suggest that the great majority of leaders subscribes to a democratic rather than a race-conflict rationale for community control, but that there is a strong independent relationship between minority group status and operational support for community control. Possible explanations for this finding include the present interests of minority groups in American cities, the functional inadequacies of the political party structure, and the developmental history of the civil rights movement and its ideology. The relationship between race and community control may fade, however, if community control ceases to be a useful vehicle for advancing the interests of minority groups. One crucial determinant will be the identifications and beliefs of minority group members who are recruited into urban bureaucracies. Another is whether experience with decentralized city agencies indicates that movement toward increased community involvement in govern-

ment leads, in fact, to enhanced power and patronage for minorities. The data point to a continuing attachment to the community control ideology but also a recasting of it in a more qualified and complex form.

By NORMAN I. FAINSTEIN, Associate Professor, Dept. of Urban Affairs and Policy Analysis, Center for New York City Affairs, The New School for Social Research, and SUSAN S. FAINSTEIN, Associate Professor of Urban Planning, Livingston College, Rutgers University.

924 COMMUNICATIONS

From Gordon Tullock, Richard A. Brody, Douglas D. Rose, Dennis D. Riley, Fred W. Grupp, Jr. and Alan R. Richards, Paul Allen Beck, Richard Funston, Fred H. Lawson, Patrick J. McGowan and Robert M. Rood

937 EDITORIAL COMMENT

BOOK REVIEWS AND ESSAYS

939 On the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. David I. Sills, editor, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

By RALPH ROSS, Professor of Philosophy, Scripps College, The Claremont Colleges.

952 **Philosophy and International Violence.** Contemporary analytical philosophy has produced a body of work of considerable interest concerning the legal and moral aspects of warfare. Originally stimulated by public controversy over American involvement in the Vietnam War, the attention of philosophers was soon drawn to a number of more general moral and conceptual problems raised by the conduct of war. Those explored in the resulting literature include the nature and justification of the laws of war, the moral evaluation of military conduct, the dilemmas confronted by attempts to allocate blame for acts of military violence, and the implications of different ways of describing such acts for legal and moral judgment. Because investigation of these problems requires both substantive knowledge of international politics and philosophical interests and skills, it should be continued by political scientists as well as by philosophers.

By TERRY NARDIN, Associate Professor of Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo.

962 Political Theory, History of Political Thought and Methodology

Thomas L. Pangle, *Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism: A Commentary on "The Spirit of the laws"*. Anne M. Cohler, p. 962

Bhiku Parekh, ed., *Bentham's Political Thought*. Wilfrid Harrison, p. 963

Anton Pelinka, *Dynamische Demokratie: Zur konkreten Utopie gesellschaftlicher Gleichheit*. George Schwab, p. 964

Milton Rokeach, *The Nature of Human Values*. Robert E. Lane, p. 965

Abraham Rothberg, ed., *The Heirs of Stalin: Dissidence and the Soviet Regime, 1953-1970*. D. Pospelovsky, p. 966

Jean-Jacques Salomon, *Science and Politics*. Yaron Ezrahi, p. 967

C. G. Schoenfeld, *Psychoanalysis and the Law*. Stanley Rothman, p. 969

Constance Smith and Ann Freedman, *Voluntary Associations: Perspectives on the Literature*. G. David Garson, p. 970

Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Baku Commune, 1917-1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution*. Stanislav Kirschbaum, p. 971

Annelise Thimme, *Flucht in den Mythos: Die Deutschnationale Volkspartei und die Niederlage von 1918*. Lewis Hertzman, p. 972

Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*; and Robert C. Elliott, *The Shape of Utopia: Studies in a Literary Genre*. Rodney W. Kilcup, p. 973

Sidney R. Waldman, *Foundations of Political Action: An Exchange Theory of Politics*. Robert J. Sickels, p. 975

John J. Weltman, *Systems Theory in International Relations: A Study in Metaphoric Hypertrophy*. Jeffrey A. Hart, p. 975

Anthony Wilden, *System and Structure: Essays in Communication and Exchange*. Harold D. Lasswell, p. 976

977 American Government and Politics

John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*. Stanley Bach, p. 977

- R. Alton Lee, *A History of Regulatory Taxation*. Clara Penniman, p. 978
 Sar H. Levitan, *Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970s*. Harold M. Hochman, p. 979
 Samuel T. McSeveney, *The Politics of Depression: Political Behavior in the Northeast, 1893-1896*. Richard Jensen, p. 980
 Ernest R. May, *"Lessons" of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy*. Donald E. Nuechterlein, p. 981
 Stephen E. Patterson, *Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts*. Ronald P. Formisano, p. 981
 Elmo Richardson, *Dams, Parks and Politics: Resource Development and Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era*. Jeanne Nienaber, p. 983
 Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*. Wen H. Kuo, p. 984
 David Sears and John B. McConahay, *The Politics of Violence: The New Urban Blacks and the Watts Riot*. Peter K. Eisinger, p. 985
 Richard Sennett, *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*. David Nexon, p. 986
 Frederick Wirt and Michael W. Kirst, *The Political Web of American Schools*. Harmon Zeigler, p. 987

987 Comparative Government and Politics

- Marcio Moreira Alves, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Awakening of the Brazilian Revolution*. Peter McDonough, p. 987
 B. C. Muthayya and I. Gnanakannan, *Developmental Personnel, A Psycho-Social Study Across Three States in India*. Dan Fritz, p. 988
 Paul Neuburg, *The Hero's Children: The Post-War Generation of Eastern Europe*. Paul Hollander, p. 989
 Laurie Oakes and David Solomon, *The Making of an Australian Prime Minister*. H. V. Emy, p. 991
 Guillermo A. O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Thomas C. Bruneau, p. 992
 Kenneth W. Post and George D. Jenkins, *The Price of Liberty: Personality and Politics in Colonial Nigeria*. Robert Melson, p. 993
 Alexander and Janet Rabinowitch, eds., with Ladis K. D. Kristof, *Revolution and Politics in Russia: Essays in Memory of B. I. Nicolaevsky*. Leonard Schapiro, p. 993
 Stein Rokkan, ed., *Scandinavian Political Studies, Volume 8/1973*. Barbara G. Haskel, p. 995
 Alfred Stepan, ed., *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policies, and Future*. Ronald M. Schneider, p. 997
 Carl Stone, *Class, Race and Political Behaviour in Urban Jamaica*. Colin G. Clarke, p. 998
 Walter Struve, *Elites against Democracy: Leadership Ideals in Bourgeois Political Thought in Germany, 1890-1933*. Wayne C. Thompson, p. 1000
 Adolf Sturmthal and James G. Scoville, eds., *The International Labor Movement in Transition: Essays on Africa, Asia, Europe and South America*. E. M. Kassalow, p. 1001
 Peter F. Sugar, ed., *Native Fascism in the Successor States, 1918-1945*. Alex Pravada, p. 1002
 J. M. van der Kroef, *Indonesia After Sukarno*. Michael Leifer, p. 1003
 Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. Mildred A. Schwartz, p. 1004

1005 International Politics, Law and Organization

- David Kimche, *The Afro-Asian Movement: Ideology and Foreign Policy of the Third World*. Frank H. H. King, p. 1005
 Kiroshi Kitamura, *Psychological Dimensions of U. S.-Japanese Relations*. Ichiro Miyake, p. 1006
 Gordon K. Lewis, *The Virgin Islands: A Caribbean Lilliput*. Charles D. Ameringer, p. 1007
 Frank D. McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*. Thomas E. Skidmore, p. 1007
 Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808*. Donna Guy, p. 1008
 Roland Mousnier, *Social Hierarchies: 1450 to the Present*. Translated from the French by Peter Evans. Edited by Margaret Clarke. Joan Huber, p. 1009
 Farag Moussa, *Manuel de Pratique Diplomatique: L'Ambassade*. Francis O. Wilcox, p. 1010
 John M. Paxman and George T. Boggs, eds., *The United Nations: A Reassessment—Sanctions, Peace-keeping, and Humanitarian Assistance*. Lynn H. Miller, p. 1011
 George H. Quester, *The Politics of Nuclear Proliferation*. Alastair Buchan, p. 1012
 Lillian L. Randolph, *Third-Party Settlement of Disputes in Theory and Practice*. Carl Q. Christol, p. 1013
 Volker Rittberger, *Evolution and International Organization: Toward a New Level of Sociopolitical Integration*. Werner J. Feld, p. 1014
 Sidney E. Rolfe and James Burtle, *The Great Wheel: The World Monetary System, a Reinterpretation*. Susan Strange, p. 1015
 James N. Rosenau, *International Studies and the Social Sciences: Problems, Priorities, and Prospects in the United States*. Kenneth W. Thompson, p. 1016
 Antony C. Sutton, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1930 to 1945*. Carl B. Turner, p. 1017

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Address correspondence about contributions to the *Review* concerning issues before the issue of September 1977 to Nelson W. Polsby, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720, and issues after September 1977 (including all new manuscripts) starting January 1, 1976, to Charles O. Jones, Department of Political Science, Mervis Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260. Address all correspondence about pending manuscripts to Charles O. Jones.

Please submit *four* copies of a manuscript to be considered for publication. *Unfortunately, due to increased postage costs, we can no longer return manuscripts to the author.* Manuscripts must be typed and mimeographed or photocopied, with all written material double-spaced (including quotations). Please do not send the original typescript. Since manuscripts are sent out anonymously for evaluation, the author's name and affiliation should appear only on a separate covering sheet and all footnotes identifying the author should also appear on a separate sheet. An abstract of less than 150 words should accompany the manuscript.

The footnote form is that used by most scientific journals. Explanatory notes only will be permitted for most manuscripts (see below); references will be listed alphabetically at the end of the manuscript; and in-text references will be made by inserting author or title, year, and page number, if appropriate. For illustration see Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975). Note: authors of manuscripts on the history of political thought may, if they prefer, use the traditional footnote form when referring to the individual theorist's work; the reference form should be used when referring to secondary works.

All manuscripts will be examined carefully for length. Referees will be asked to recommend where cuts might be made, without affecting the principal contribution. Manuscripts over 30 pages will be reviewed with particular care to determine if such length is warranted. Except in extraordinary circumstances, manuscripts over 50 pages will be returned to the author. Resubmission may follow compliance with the page limit. Manuscripts must be prepared as noted above, double-spaced throughout, with standard margins. Tables, charts, and references will be included in the page count.

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